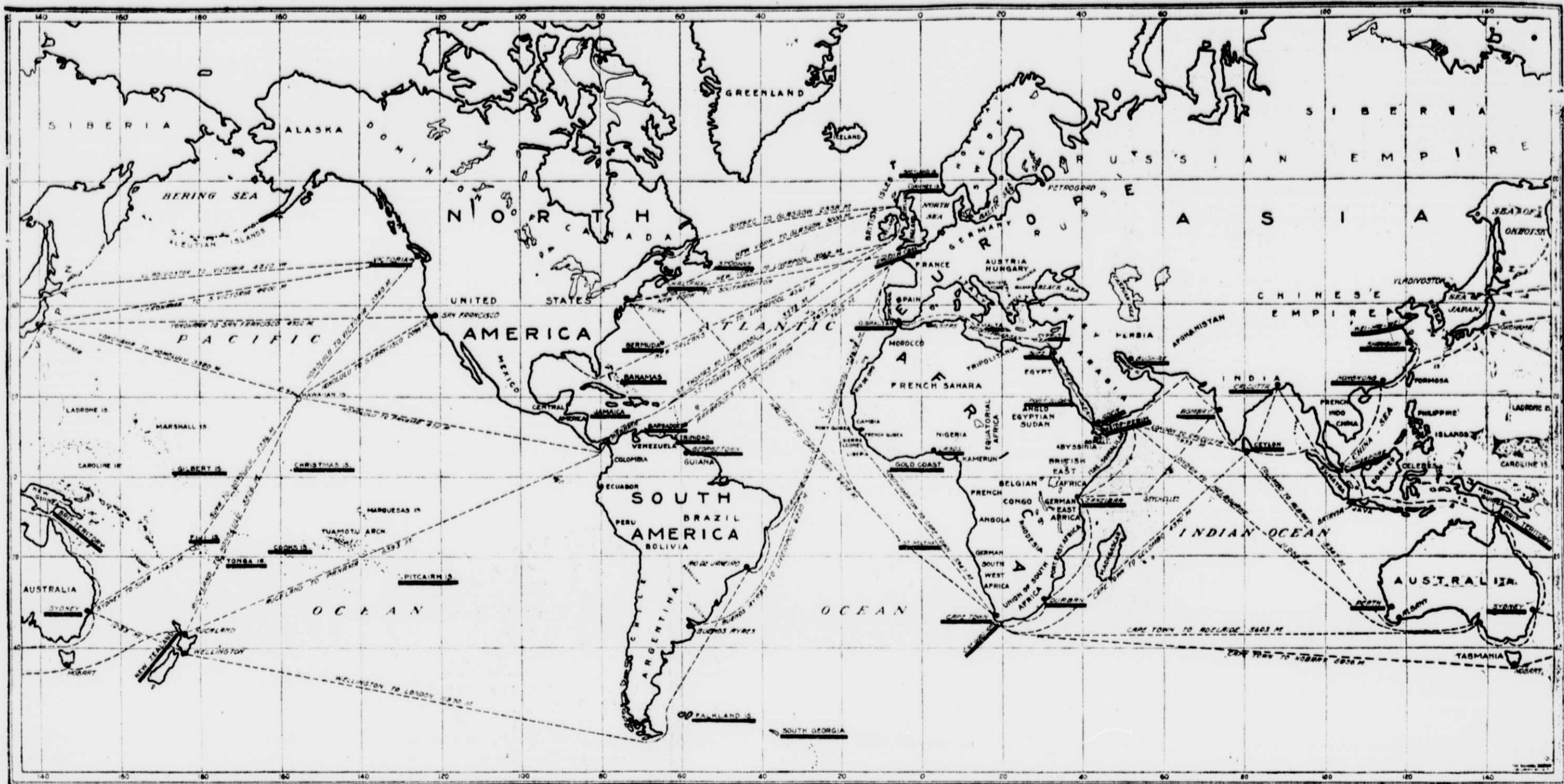


SAYS ENGLAND IS ATTEMPTING TO BIAS AMERICA



"British possessions overseas form a chain around the coast of all nations that makes any commercial shipping dependent upon the permission of Great Britain."—Dr. Dernburg.

Dr. Dernburg Points Out Great Britain's Movement to Engage United States in War on German Trade. Thereby Incapacitating This Country to Play Mediator

But then comes the cost of maintaining and manning these ships, which must be borne by Americans. As these men must be paid on the American standard, the ships run with American profits. It seems to reason that the running cost will greatly exceed that of the competing Britishers. Because there are no docks or wharves, there is no agency system, no intimate knowledge of trade conditions, and so on. All this will probably cost much more than the ships themselves.

I feel therefore, safe in predicting that any mercantile marine trade that can be taken away from Germany will go to the United States, but to such extent as can compete in industrial and manual wages with England, perhaps Sweden, Norway and Holland. For most of it will be taken by England and itself. The moment for this mercantile marine seems to be, therefore, no much better than any previous time.

But there is another side to the case, which I must allude to. I have spoken of the British possessions overseas. They form a chain around the coast of all nations that makes any commercial shipping dependent upon the permission of Great Britain. That was the reason why Germany tried to build up a very strong navy. The statement seems to be very wide, and must, therefore, be proved. I invite your readers to take a map of the world and follow my explanation. To-day, to commence at the north, the Baltic is bottled up by the English command of the sounds. No Swedish, no Finnish, no Russian, no Danish, and no German ship can today go out without being stopped and searched. The same is the case with the North Sea. It is locked in the north by the British command of the Orkneys and Shetlands; locked in the west by the British command of the Channel. No ship, either German, or Belgian, or Dutch, or French, can today come out of the North Sea without British permission. The Mediterranean is controlled by the possession of Gibraltar, and of Malta, and of Suez and of Cyprus. No ship, neither Turkish, nor Greek, nor Austrian, nor Italian, nor French, can get to the high seas without British inspection and permission.

British stations on the coast of Africa are equally numerous. The Gulf of Aden and the Cape on the west side; Durban and Zanzibar and Port Sudan on the east side. The Red Sea is absolutely closed by the British possession of the Island of Perim and the rock fortresses of Aden. In the Persian Gulf there is Bushir and Kowet. Two English strongholds. On the way to China there is Ceylon and Singapore. On the coast of China you have Hongkong and Shanghai, which is practically British, and Wei-Hai-Wei. In the South Sea there is British New Guinea and New Zealand and Fiji and the Tonga Islands. So that practically in all these seas Great Britain can permit or forbid any nation.

Any nation engaged in mercantile shipping must take these things into account, but for the United States there is a very special reason. The Panama Canal is a main asset of American overseas trade, and the activities of the pro-meritocracy people have mostly South American in view. Now, while it is quite true that on the north there is the long land Canadian frontier, that is in no way a danger to the United States, there are also in the north a number of British coaling stations. They can and do control the entrance to American harbors. There you have St. John and Halifax with easy reach of New England. British cruisers are now constantly patrolling the mouth of your harbors of New York or of Delaware. And then comes the fact that mercantile marine of British fortified coaling stations that back up blockade of the Gulf of Mexico and the Panama Canal. It commences with the Bermudas, but about opposite Charleston, the Bahamas, commanding the straits

between Key West and Havana, Jamaica, the entrance of the Caribbean Sea. And then you have Barbados, Trinidad, and all that ships from the United States must pass on their way to South America. And it is not much better on the west side, where from the port of Vancouver the whole American west coast is skirted.

Now, Germany would not build up a big mercantile business in the foreign trade without being able to protect it. At present there is a strong German fleet. So strong that together with the American fleet it could give weight to any representations against an overbearing or arrogant policy on the part of Great Britain, such as the United States have repeatedly noticed. But when the German mercantile trade is out of business, and if at British demand, the German navy is dismantled, then the United States cannot have a mercantile marine without a navy that can single handed cope with the British, and that is the more difficult as the British navy, which is much more dangerous to the world at large than the so-called German militarism, demands that two British ships shall always exist for one of any nation whatsoever. And while it may be said that the world is doing now its overseas trade on British tolerance, there is the certainty that it can in future only do it by British permission if the British programme of destroying Germany and its fleet in a long struggle is realized.

Between Key West and Havana, Jamaica, the entrance of the Caribbean Sea. And then you have Barbados, Trinidad, and all that ships from the United States must pass on their way to South America. And it is not much better on the west side, where from the port of Vancouver the whole American west coast is skirted.

Now, Germany would not build up a big mercantile business in the foreign trade without being able to protect it. At present there is a strong German fleet. So strong that together with the American fleet it could give weight to any representations against an overbearing or arrogant policy on the part of Great Britain, such as the United States have repeatedly noticed. But when the German mercantile trade is out of business, and if at British demand, the German navy is dismantled, then the United States cannot have a mercantile marine without a navy that can single handed cope with the British, and that is the more difficult as the British navy, which is much more dangerous to the world at large than the so-called German militarism, demands that two British ships shall always exist for one of any nation whatsoever. And while it may be said that the world is doing now its overseas trade on British tolerance, there is the certainty that it can in future only do it by British permission if the British programme of destroying Germany and its fleet in a long struggle is realized.

Between Key West and Havana, Jamaica, the entrance of the Caribbean Sea. And then you have Barbados, Trinidad, and all that ships from the United States must pass on their way to South America. And it is not much better on the west side, where from the port of Vancouver the whole American west coast is skirted.

Now, Germany would not build up a big mercantile business in the foreign trade without being able to protect it. At present there is a strong German fleet. So strong that together with the American fleet it could give weight to any representations against an overbearing or arrogant policy on the part of Great Britain, such as the United States have repeatedly noticed. But when the German mercantile trade is out of business, and if at British demand, the German navy is dismantled, then the United States cannot have a mercantile marine without a navy that can single handed cope with the British, and that is the more difficult as the British navy, which is much more dangerous to the world at large than the so-called German militarism, demands that two British ships shall always exist for one of any nation whatsoever. And while it may be said that the world is doing now its overseas trade on British tolerance, there is the certainty that it can in future only do it by British permission if the British programme of destroying Germany and its fleet in a long struggle is realized.

Between Key West and Havana, Jamaica, the entrance of the Caribbean Sea. And then you have Barbados, Trinidad, and all that ships from the United States must pass on their way to South America. And it is not much better on the west side, where from the port of Vancouver the whole American west coast is skirted.

To my mind a strong central power in Europe is indispensable for the American trade, be it on American or foreign ships. In other words, the invitation by Great Britain to share in the destruction of German trade, to assist them in prolonging the war, which of all the countries that are now struggling they think they can stand the longest, is just an allurement and a bribe, which, if taken, will in the end result in an American mercantile marine unable to compete on business lines, and which will necessitate, in case the German navy is destroyed, the United States to build at least as many ships, man, equip and maintain them as German ships are being destroyed.

The United States stands foremost as the creator and protector of the Monroe Doctrine. This doctrine need not be defended against Germany, which always added by it, but its challenge by England in 1893 has probably not been forgotten. Of course the growth in population will proportionately increase the demand, but the increase in home of the same articles will constantly retard the movement.

I repeat, therefore, the existence of the strong German fleet, and of Germany as a strong central power, has already now been necessary to put a check to British ambition, and it will be more so in the future, whether a mercantile marine is built or not. Now about getting the trade. This is not an easy thing. Of course there is some considerable business between the United States and South America, which is being cleared through English and continental banks. It is absolutely correct that, especially when these continental banks cannot do the service, American banks should go to South America, and added by the new Federal Reserve Board legislation, establish clearing houses of their own. But as to capturing any considerable trade, I have doubts. The trade is divided into imports and exports trade. As far as imports from South America go, they are mostly of raw products, of which America buys as much as she happens to want. The biggest export item from Brazil to the United States is coffee, going to drink and coffee, and therefore buy more than they have done so far.

They won't buy more wool, or anything that is going beyond their wants, so there is nothing to be gained on this side. But there is \$50,000,000 German trade in South America in imports. Some of that might possibly be lost, but as all is in specialties, in small things, dry goods, etc., it is easy to establish special business houses, with very large showrooms and great stocks of articles. It takes time to find out what the people want. It takes more time to find out and it costs a lot of money to find out who deserves credit and who does not. And then comes the question of competition. Why didn't the United States have this trade before? Because of the higher cost of living and the higher cost of labor in these States and because the mass of people in South America must buy cheap things. They haven't enough money to buy more than they need, and that whatever trade can be got away from Germany will fall to Great Britain's share, and that a very considerable disappointment will follow a very costly move.

And the same holds good with China and the Far East. The biggest competitor is Japan. And Germany, although very well equipped with textile industries, has not been able to get any trade from either the Japanese or Lancashire. The main importation in the Far East is cotton goods. The people are too poor to purchase high grade goods, and German exports are mostly of the same line as in South America. Moreover, the whole amount of these exports is quite insignificant.

Well, then, why do I tell you all this? The reason is very obvious. While these inducements are held out, while even the Prime Minister of Russia asks America to go ahead and grab German trade, the best customers that buy your high grade goods and your raw products remain cut off from business. Five hundred million dollars of German trade, the same amount of French, Belgian and Austrian trade; even the Russian trade is perfectly locked up, and there is no outlet for the exportation of such staple products as cotton, oil, wheat and so on, of which the United States wishes to export. The American people lose very much more by the locking up of the European trade than they could possibly gain by getting a share in the German overseas trade. England wants that overseas trade itself, so its Ministers say, and it knows full well that America can get possibly only a very small share.

But the consequences are much more far reaching. There is an organized effort

by any number of British writers to prejudice the United States against Germany. All the news is more or less tainted in that direction. The fact that Germany is carrying on war in foreign lands gave rise to all sorts of tales of brutalities, atrocities, etc. I wonder if the British or French would attack German houses if they were defended by German soldiers, or would retaliate if they would be fired on from behind by German civilians? The idea is that the sympathy of the United States should be taken away from Germany by playing on the sentimental and human side of the American public, a side which I fully appreciate.

But now comes the supplementary movement of trying to change America in a war on German trade. And while the unsympathetic feeling will certainly be resented in Germany to some extent, the endeavors to get away with the German trade will widen very much the gulf between the two peoples and will get up a very bad feeling in Germany, which is not good between two cultivated peoples who have been together very best customers for a hundred years. But that is just the game that is being played. I think it my duty in Germany as well as in American interests to explain this fully. There has been a commercial friendship and a political one between the two countries for 150 years, from the time when Lord Benjamin Franklin, John Quincy Adams and others were in Europe to solicit recognition and trade arrangements for the American colonies struggling for their freedom, and they went to Frederick the Great in efforts to open the Prussian harbors to the American privateers.

Ever since the treaty of commerce and amity, drawn on very broad lines and full of the best humanitarian principles, of 1786 down to the present time, there have never been any difficulties, never any serious business misunderstandings, never any war between the two countries. Hospitality on the part of the United States to our German immigrants, the liberality on the part of German science and culture to American wants have characterized the relations. We have never had a war, as England had with the United States, never had difficulties such as the Alabama case, the Panama case and the contracting of American tenders in Mexico, and the challenge of the Monroe Doctrine in the Venezuela business.

But the ultimate tendency of the English programme is, however, another one. It is directed to incapacitate the United States to play a mediating role in this war. The neutrality proclamation of the President has been the latest document written in a long time, both in words and in spirit. But the President is only the exponent of the American people. If a gulf can be opened between Germany and America, if the Germans won't trust the American people and its President, then there can be no effective mediation. It cannot be expected of our people to serve as umpire that has in words or in deed shown himself biased in the favor of one antagonist. It is just as impossible to have a one-sided referee in a baseball game. So the movement intends to straddle the President's endeavors and thereby further prolong the war, and I had to expose this whole matter because I think the tendencies of the President are very noble and there is a beautiful role, and one befitting the great American nation and its people and progressive spirit, in store for you and I wish you to succeed in putting a stop when the time comes to one of the most gruesome aspects of the world we had.

I know Americans are very angry with my people, because of their belief that Germany might have provoked the war. But I am convinced that the men's sake, which I do not think that might be true, the public should not let itself be kept busy with this kind of thing for the moment it is of no practical importance, but it is of recognition that even for America and just for America there are very great issues at stake, matters of supreme national importance, and that they must be looked squarely in the face.

War of Germany and England Was Inevitable, Says Sidney Whitman

Friend and Biographer of Bismarck Finds One of Chief Causes of Break Between Countries in Character of Kaiser

"I Had To Be" is the title of an article in the *Fortnightly Review* for September in which Sidney Whitman analyzes the underlying causes of German hostility to England and gives accounts of conversations with Bismarck and others which assume something of a prophetic character in view of the present war.

Mr. Whitman was the friend and later biographer of Bismarck, has long been in touch with European affairs and is the author of several books. One of the chief causes of the break between England and Germany he finds in the character of Emperor William II. He begins by making quotations from an article published twenty-two years ago, which describes the German Emperor's dominant traits as vanity, superficiality and megalomania. In May, 1892, while he was visiting Bismarck at Friedrichsruh the subject of the article came up and Bismarck said:

"Whoever wrote it knew what he was writing about, for what it states is true."

Here are some extracts from Mr. Whitman's article in the *Fortnightly Review*:

"About this time I saw a great deal of Prince Bismarck, for I met him again at Kissingen on the 3d of July in the same year. His conversations with me and many others have long been published and are now matters of historical interest. If I recall a few incidents it is because so many of his prophetic words have since been realized, more particularly with regard to Germany's policy toward Russia and Austria."

"It was in connection with the Emperor's dealing with these two questions that Bismarck used to complain that his successors were chipping off bits of the building to which he had devoted his life. He looked with grave misgivings on the Emperor's demonstrative advances to Austria. Knowing the true nature of Austrian diplomacy, he was afraid that his inimitableness would lead him to compromise Germany and allow her to be made a cat's paw to bolster up Austrian interests."

"This fear we have now seen realized, for there can be no doubt whatever today that what set the ball rolling—the war now raging throughout Europe—was in the main due to Count Berchtold feeling sure that it was now or never with Austria in her struggle with Slavdom and that he had got impulsive William behind him when he delivered his ultimatum to Serbia."

"Bismarck was for safeguarding the

Austro-Hungarian empire against unprovoked attack, but not for allowing Germany to be drawn into the cycle of her dynastic interests at the risk of Germany's very existence. For he, together with Moltke, was fully conscious that defeat in a future war might mean the destruction of the German empire, a 'vague, a blank all round,' was the expression he used."

"It will be a bad day for Europe," he said to me one day, "when Russia produces a statesman who would not hesitate to sacrifice the lives of a million men."

"That Russia might join France against Germany, particularly since the German Emperor had done his best to estrange her, was not at all, in his mind, but the idea that England, the country for which, next to his own, he harbored the most ardent sympathies, could join Russia never occurred to him in his blackest nightmares. It was a revelation to him, where another in his place might have had a calming, sedative, prophylactic, antisepic effect. For instance, present developments would have been impossible in the lifetime of the Emperor Frederick."

"The readiness of the present generation to accept the initiative from above, to become infected with the ill digested ideas which are characteristic of the German Emperor, is to be explained by the parvenu character of latter day Germany, of which he is a faithful mirror and exponent; an essentially modern man, as he was described by his instructor, Herr von Achenbach, one who imitates and reflects the surface flotsam and jetsam with little thought or knowledge of the deeper impulses of the soul of a nation. No more convincing proof of the truth of this statement is imaginable than his obsession for military parades; the theatrical, demonstrative character of all he has said and done for many years past."

"Knowing well the bent of the Emperor's mind, which has long been one of envy and jealousy of England, it became an unconscious habit with those who wished to retain his favor to minister thereto, and this applies from Marshal von Bismarck to Bismarck. This statement may alienate valued friendship, but it is the naked truth nevertheless."

"Do you believe that the Times is

endeavoring to bring about war between England and Germany? Prince Bismarck asked me one day.

"I am not in the confidence of the Times," I replied, "but I can assure you that the building of your big fleet is looked upon with grave suspicion in England."

"I also reminded him that Prince Bismarck himself had laid it down that Europe would, in the long run, not tolerate a 'cock of the walk' attitude on the part of any one Power or one man; and I felt sure that England would be at one with Europe in this determination."

Prince Bismarck endeavored to make light of what I said, and as on previous occasions he sought to minimize the aggressive nature of Germany's naval programme. He even told me that the Emperor's ambitions went no further than the wish to parade his warships as British Admirals before his uncle Edward.

"To those behind the scenes the estrangement between the two countries had lately assumed more ominous proportions. In spite of all the German and English press assurances to the contrary, the number and the quality of those in England who spoke up for Germany seemed to divide day by day, in spite of the efforts made by sundry Ambassadors to create a friendly feeling by lavish if somewhat indiscriminate hospitality; while, on the other hand, German militarism, in its public expressions, no longer made any pretence to clothe its aggressive views in the language of peace and whose position seemed to quicken my apprehensions."

"My old friend Prof. Hans Delbrueck had come to London last September to lecture on military subjects at the London University, and spent an evening at my house. Here was a man of high character, of great intellectual attainments and personal charm, whom it was impossible to know without feeling drawn toward him, and whose position as professor of history at the University of Berlin endowed him with the power to influence the opinions of his countrymen to a degree which, in all probability, no Englishman in a similar position possesses. It was thus with amazement and alarm that I listened to the uncompromising cocksureness of his views regarding the con-

ditions under which Germany might allow England to retain her leadership in the world, the compensations Germany expected in Africa, in Turkey, if not in the solar system.

"Compensations for what? I asked. 'Surely not for the immense indebtedness which German commerce owes to British free trade, which gives you greater openings to the markets of the world than you might possess if you ran half our colonies under your own flag. My dear Delbrueck, I at last exclaimed, 'has it never occurred to you that in the case of a war between France and Germany your country might possibly get the worst of it?'

"No," he replied in a most confident manner.

"That is very interesting," I retorted. "It reminds me more of the Prussians of 1866 than that of 1870."

"Many other ominous indications of extreme German restlessness, within my 'swelled head' came within my ken from other sources. I have long been a careful reader of German periodicals, and the demand for compensations from England as the price of German friendship has lately been put forward with increasing force, even by those organs I had hitherto held to represent the most moderate views in Germany. Unless England was prepared to surrender 'places in the sun' to Germany, no friendly advances on the part of this country would ever meet with honest acceptance on the part of those who hold the power in their hands at Potsdam."

"Potsdam megalomania has gone so far as to declare that in case of rupture with England Germany would immediately overrun France and hold the country to ransom in order to extort compensation from Great Britain. Only as long as England remained true to the principles of free trade could Germany allow her to retain her present possessions—such was another rhetorical gem. No wonder that Mr. Balfour in referring to a statement of this description exclaimed that 'it was enough to make an Englishman's blood boil!'

"No wonder that England, goaded at last beyond endurance by those who had come to imagine that there is no license they need refrain from indulging in—outraged by a culmination of arrogance and treachery worthy of an Oriental—issued her ultimatum and declared war, almost reaching Lord Clive's famous words: 'Now is the time to undo the Omicron!'

But the ultimate tendency of the English programme is, however, another one. It is directed to incapacitate the United States to play a mediating role in this war. The neutrality proclamation of the President has been the latest document written in a long time, both in words and in spirit. But the President is only the exponent of the American people. If a gulf can be opened between Germany and America, if the Germans won't trust the American people and its President, then there can be no effective mediation. It cannot be expected of our people to serve as umpire that has in words or in deed shown himself biased in the favor of one antagonist. It is just as impossible to have a one-sided referee in a baseball game. So the movement intends to straddle the President's endeavors and thereby further prolong the war, and I had to expose this whole matter because I think the tendencies of the President are very noble and there is a beautiful role, and one befitting the great American nation and its people and progressive spirit, in store for you and I wish you to succeed in putting a stop when the time comes to one of the most gruesome aspects of the world we had.

I know Americans are very angry with my people, because of their belief that Germany might have provoked the war. But I am convinced that the men's sake, which I do not think that might be true, the public should not let itself be kept busy with this kind of thing for the moment it is of no practical importance, but it is of recognition that even for America and just for America there are very great issues at stake, matters of supreme national importance, and that they must be looked squarely in the face.